

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 (ISO) W

----- 036408

O 091609Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3714

INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 7616

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP, PFOR, IS, EG

SUBJ: CODEL RIBICOFF/BAKER MEETING WITH ALLON

REF: TEL AVIV 7588

1. CODEL HAD TWO-HOUR SESSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON NEVEMBER 8. ALLON WAS VIGOROUS AND APPEARED TO BE IN EXCELLENT SHAPE FOLLOWING HIS RETURN TO WORK AFTER SURGERY. WHILE HE COVERED MANY OF THE SAME POINTS THAT RABIN DID IN HIS MEETING THE NIGHT BEFORE WITH CODEL, HIS REMARKS ARE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS BECAUSE OF CERTAIN ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS AND COMMENTS.

2. WHEN SENATOR BAKER ASKED WHAT QUESTION THE CODEL MIGHT CARRY TO SADAT FROM THE ISRAELIS, ALLON SUGGESTED THAT HE BE ASKED "WHY CAN'T WE NEGOTIATE PEACE? WHY IS EGYPT ALWAYS FINDING SUBSTITUTES FOR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS?" HE SAID SADAT WOULD BE A GOOD NEGOTIATOR AND THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO NEGOTIATE WITH HIM. THE RESULT OF THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE SOMETHING WHICH WOULD STAND FOR GENERATIONS BUT, HE REPEATED, WHAT DETERS THEM FROM NEGOTIATION? IN A SIMILAR REMARK, HE RESPONDED TO A QUESTION FROM SENATOR CANNON THAT THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO PEACE REMAINS THE REFUSAL OF

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SOME ARAB REGIMES TO RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO THE

EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL.

3. SENATOR GRIFFIN ASKED THE FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT THE ALLON PLAN AND THE MINISTER REVIEWED THE HISTORY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENTATION TO THE CABINET IN JULY 1967 BUT, HE SAID, "THE DOVES THOUGHT IT TOO HAWKISH, THE HAWKS THOUGHT IT TOO DOVISH AND SOME OBJECTED TO IT SIMPLY BECAUSE IT WAS MINE". HE SAID THE PLAN WAS BASED ON GEOGRAPHIC, DEMOGRAPHIC AND STRATEGIC CONCEPTS WHICH HAVE NOT CHANGED SINCE 1967 AND IT IS THEREFORE STILL VALID. HE SAID HE PUBLISHED IT BECAUSE IT MEETS THE NEED FOR ISRAEL TO DESCRIBE ITS GOALS.

4. SENATOR EAGLETON ASKED WHETHER ISRAEL HAD MISSED AN OPPORTUNITY TO NEGOTIATE AFTER THE 1967 WAR AND WHETHER A BETTER OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE EXPECTED THAN THAT WHICH IS LIKELY TO EXIST IN 1977. ALLON SAID IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY WHETHER AN OPPORTUNITY MIGHT HAVE BEEN MISSED AND REVIEWED ISRAEL'S HISTORY OF TAKING AND THEN WITHDRAWING THE SINAI IN 1949 AND AGAIN IN 1956. HE SAID IT DID NOT HAPPEN A THIRD TIME IN 1967 ALTHOUGH SOME PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF AGREEMENTS SIGNED SINCE 1973.

5. HE REVIEWED ISRAEL'S DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE WITH HUSSEIN AND SAID THE BORDER WITH JORDAN IS QUIET. THAT BEING SO, WHY "STAB HUSSEIN IN THE BACK AND MAKE A DEAL WITH SOMEONE WHO WANTS TO STAB US IN THE BACK?" HE SAID THE CONTINUING RIVALRY BETWEEN ARAB LEADERS IS WHAT MAKES A SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IMPOSSIBLE. HIS POSITION IS THAT HE WILL NEVER AGREE TO ANY OVERALL SETTLEMENT WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE A SOLUTION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.

6. HE AGREED WITH THE SENATOR THAT 1977 MAY BE A GOOD YEAR TO PRESS FOR AN OVERALL SOLUTION BUT HE EMPHASIZED THAT NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE UNDERTAKEN WITH NO PRIOR CONDITIONS, THERE CAN BE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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NEGOTIATIONS AND THERE CANNOT BE AN IMPOSED SOLUTION. HE SAID ISRAEL WILL NEVER ACCEPT UNJUST PRESSURE AND IT WILL NEVER GIVE UP ITS ABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF BY ITSELF.

7. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM SENATOR BELLMON ABOUT ISRAEL'S SETTLEMENT POLICY, ALLON SAID ISRAEL IS NOT SETTLING IN HEAVILY POPULATED AREAS, BUT IS

SETTLING IN DESERT AREAS AND IN A STRATEGIC BELT.
HE REVIEWED THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS TO ISRAELI DEFENSE CONCEPTS.

8. HE ALSO SET FORTH HIS VIEW OF THE AMOCO DRILLING DISPUTE. A MEDIAN LINE IN THE GULF OF SUEZ SEPARATES THE AREA CONTROLLED BY ISRAEL AND EGYPT. AN AMERICAN COMPANY NOW WANTS TO DRILL IN THE HALF OF THE GULF UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL. EGYPT THOUGHT THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH THESE OPERATIONS SINCE IT WAS AN AMERICAN COMPANY AND THAT A FAIT ACCOMPLI COULD BE ESTABLISHED OR THAT THE U.S. COMPANY WOULD PRESS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO PRESS ISRAEL TO ALLOW THE DRILLING. ISRAEL IS READY TO NEGOTIATE THIS MATTER BUT THE RESULT OF DISCUSSIONS SO FAR HAS BEEN AGREEMENT TO DISAGREE AND AN UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN REACHED NOT TO PROCEED WITH FURTHER DRILLING UNTIL THERE HAVE BEEN SOME NEGOTIATIONS. HE CHARACTERIZED THIS AS AN EGYPTIAN ATTEMPT TO GET SOMETHING FOR NOTHING.

9. SENATOR GLENN RETURNED TO THE SUBJECT OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION HE HAD RAISED THE NIGHT BEFORE WITH RABIN AND ASKED ALLON TO COMMENT ON WHAT HE (GLENN) PERCEIVED TO BE DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM ISRAELI SECRECY ABOUT DIMONA AND ITS FAILURE TO SIGN THE MTP. ALLON BEGAN HIS RESPONSE BY SAYING THAT THE BALANCE OF TERROR WHICH WORKS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW WILL NOT NECESSARILY WORK IN OTHER AREAS. IT WON'T WORK IN THE MIDDLE EAST BECAUSE THE REGIME IN MOSCOW CANNOT BE COMPARED WITH THOSE IN IRAQ OR LIBYA. THE INSTABILITY IN THE ARAB WORLD MEANS THAT THERE WOULD BE TERROR BUT NO BALANCE. ISRAEL REMAINS
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SUPERIOR ON THE CONVENTIONAL BATTLE FIELD, EVEN ALLOWING FOR CURRENT PROGRESS IN THE ARAB WORLD, AND RESORTING TO NUCLEAR STRATEGY IS UNNECESSARY.

10. ALLON WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE WOULD BE IN FAVOR OF ISRAEL'S SIGNING THE NPT BUT IT COULD NOT DO THIS IN A WORLD IN WHICH ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS SIGN BUT SAY THEIR COMMITMENTS DO NOT APPLY TO THEIR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. HE SAID BLUNTLY "I DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE VIENNA ORGANIZATION; THE SOVIET UNION IS THERE, OUR ENEMIES ARE THERE, EVEN THE PLO IS THERE."

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 (ISO) W

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O 091609Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3715

INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

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11. HE RECALLED THE PROPOSAL BY IRAN AND EGYPT SEVERAL YEARS AGO THAT THE MIDDLE EAST BE DESIGNATED A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE. HE SAID HE WROTE TWICE TO THE UNSYG GIVING A POSITIVE REPLY AND HAD MADE A PUBLIC STATEMENT IN HIS SPEECH TO THE GA LAST YEAR SAYING THAT ISRAEL WAS READY TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PROPOSAL, PROVIDED ALL ASPECTS ARE NEGOTIATED WITH ALL MEMBER STATES WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. THERE WAS NO RESPONSE TO HIS STATEMENTS AND ISRAEL CONCLUDED IT WAS JUST AN EFFORT TO GAIN PUBLICITY AND SUPPORT FOR PLANNED NUCLEAR PROJECTS IN THOSE COUNTRIES. HE SAID SUPPORT FOR A NFZ REMAINS ISRAELI POLICY AND HE WAS WILLING TO STATE THIS IN WRITING TO THE SENATORS.

12. SENATOR LAXALT REFERRED TO A STATEMENT EARLIER THAT DAY IN A SYMPOSIUM THAT BY 1980 THERE WOULD BE 250,000 AMERICANS WORKING IN THE GULF AREA, PARTICULARLY IN SAUDI ARABIA, AND ASKED THE MINISTER TO COMMENT. ALLON SAID IT DEPENDED ON WHAT THE AMERICANS WOULD BE DOING AND WENT ON TO DISCUSS RELATIONS WITH AND AMONG ISRAEL'S ARAB NEIGHBORS. ISRAEL APPRECIATED THE IMPORTANCE OF ARMS SALES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TODAY BUT AS LONG AS THERE IS NO PEACE, ARABS SHOULD NOT RECEIVE LARGE AMOUNTS

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OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE ARABS ARE AWARE THAT THE U.S. HAS A RED LINE IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- THE SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL-AND SAID IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT THE U.S. HAS RENEWED RELATIONS WITH ARAB STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUFFERED REVERSES IN THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE THE U.S. AIRLIFT MADE CLEAR THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL. HE SAID HE WOULD RATHER SEE U.S. AID TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES CONCENTRATE MORE ON HELPING THOSE STATES HELP THEMSELVES; ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY.

13. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM SENATOR FORD ABOUT ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC SITUATION, ALLON DISCUSSED THE STEPS WHICH ISRAEL HAS TAKEN TO MEET ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND WENT ON TO SET OUT HIS VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL TO THE U.S. U.S. POLITICAL ECONOMIC, AND MORAL AID IS VITAL TO ISRAEL AND ISRAEL'S GRATITUDE IS DIFFICULT TO EXPRESS. ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT TO BE ABURDEN OR A LIABILITY AND FEELS THAT, IN FACT, IT MAKES A STRATEGIC CONTRIBUTION TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS. ALLON CITED TWO EXAMPLES: IN 1970 WHEN ISRAEL MOVED ONE ARMOR CORPS FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH ACROSS THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WITH HIGH VISIBILITY AND AT THE SAME TIME PUBLICLY STATED THAT ISRAEL DID NOT INTEND TO INTERVENE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF JORDAN. SYRIA AND IRAQI TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN FROM JORDAN AND ISRAEL HELPED AVOID A CRISIS - "THE MIDDLE EAST WAS ABOUT TO BECOME ANOTHER SOUTH EAST ASIA". A SECOND EXAMPLE IS THE SITUATION IN LEBANON IN WHICH ISRAEL HAS PLAYED A USEFUL ROLE OF RESTRAINT AND CAUTION. THEREFORE, HE CONCLUDED, THE U.S. SHOULD LOOK UPON ITS HELP TO ISRAEL ALSO AS SELF-HELP.

14. SENATOR CULVER ASKED ABOUT ISRAELI RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND SAID THAT CONCERN IN THE U.S. ABOUT THESE RELATIONS MIGHT AFFECT U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. ALLON REPLIED THAT THIS IS A SENSITIVE PROBLEM FOR ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION ALSO. HE SAID THAT, AS JEWS, ISRAELIS CANNOT ACCEPT APARTHEID AND AGAIN REPEATED HIS STATEMENT OF RECENT WEEKS THAT ISRAEL

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HAS ONLY .2 PERCENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN TRADE. THE TRANSKEI HAD TRIED TO GET AN ISRAELI OFFICIAL OR PRIVATE REPRESENTATIVE AT ITS INDEPENDENCE

CEREMONY BUT NONE WAS SENT. ISRAEL HAS A PARTICULAR CONCERN IN ITS SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS BECAUSE THE PRESENCE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY THERE REQUIRES ISRAEL TO BE PARTICULARLY CAUTIOUS. HE REPEATED RABIN'S STATEMENT OF THE DAY BEFORE THAT ISRAEL HAS SUPPLIED SOME ARTILLERY AND PATROL BOATS TO SOUTH AFRICA BUT NOTHING BEYOND THAT. ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH BLACK AFRICAN STATES ARE AS GOOD AS CAN BE EXPECTED, ARE IMPROVING, AND THEIR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL HAS BEEN NOTED AT THE PRESENT UNESCO MEETING IN NAIROBI. HE CONCLUDED THAT THIS IS A SUBJECT THAT MUST BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN US AND THAT WE MUST FIND A BETTER SOLUTION THAN WE HAVE TO DATE.

15. FROM THIS, ALLON WENT INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE ARAB BOYCOTT AND SAID IT IS NOT JUST A MATTER BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAEL BUT IS A CONCERN FOR ALL NATIONS. HE SAID HE BELIEVED THE ARABS ARE MORE REALISTIC ABOUT THEIR NEED FOR THE WEST THAN THE EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS THINK. HE ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT ARE THE ARABS TO DO WITHOUT EUROPE AND THE U.S., TURN TO POLAND? THE EUROPEANS SHOULD FOLLOW THE U.S. EXAMPLE OF ANTI-BOYCOTT LEGISLATION BECAUSE IF THE ARABS KNOW THEY WILL BE FACED WITH A COUNTER-EMBARGO THAT WILL NOT UNDERTAKE EMBARGOES OR BOYCOTTS. HE SAID HE DID NOT FORESEE ANOTHER OIL EMBARGO EVEN IN THE EVENT OF WAR BECAUSE WESTERN NATIONS NOW HAVE HIGHER OIL RESERVES AND OIL-PRODUCING STATES OTHER THAN THE ARABS HAVE SAID THEY WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN AN EMBARGO.

16. ALLON CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE WANTED THE SENATORS TO TAKE AWAY TWO THOUGHTS: ISRAEL IS ANXIOUS FOR PEACE AND IS ANXIOUS TO GET THE POLITICAL MOMENTUM STARTED, EVEN THOUGH THAT MAY BRING PRESSURE FROM ITS FRIENDS. SECONDLY, ISRAEL WOULD LIKE TO BE LESS NEEDY THAN IT IS BUT HE REMINDED THE SENATORS THAT ISRAEL IS HELPING OTHER NEEDY NATIONS IN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CODELS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, PEACE TALKS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 NOV 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976TELAV07616
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760417-1198
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761164/aaaacdyy.tel
Line Count: 322
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, STADIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, STADIS
Reference: 76 TEL AVIV 7588
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by hartledg>; APPROVED <02 AUG 2004 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL RIBICOFF/BAKER MEETING WITH ALLON
TAGS: OREP, PFOR, IS, EG, US, XF, (ALLON, YIGAL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006